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Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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South Africa

In his speech before the UN Security Council, which was carried by SAPA, ANC President Mandela asked the Council "to help us end the carnage in South Africa." He called for the dispatch of a "special representative" who "should move speedily to investigate the situation" to enable the Security Council to decide on the measures it should take.

Mozambique

The government and Renamo delegations to the Rome peace talks "signed a declaration establishing a number of principles that will guide emergency humanitarian aid operations throughout Mozambican territory for the benefit of the more than 3 million people currently suffering from the effects of the worst drought to hit this country for the last 50 years," Maputo radio reported. The declaration stipulated that aid "will be extended freely and without discrimination to all affected Mozambican people" and committed both sides to respect the free movement of UN and Red Cross relief supplies and workers, provided they were not accompanied by "military escorts."

Niger

In a speech carried by Niamey radio, Prime Minister Cheiffou discussed the "Taiwan episode," noting that the country was in urgent need of "massive foreign aid" to meet its obligations. In a related development, AFP reported that a visiting PRC assistant foreign minister said "China was getting ready to grant Niger a new interest-free loan."

Malawi

In an interview with the BBC, the lawyer for trade union activist Chakufwa Chihana said the state prosecutor had confirmed to him that his client was again being held by police.

Congo

Sassou-Nguesso Addresses Party Rally, Urges Unity

AB1507170092 Brazzaville Radio Nationale
Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 13 Jul 92

[Text] Denis Sassou-Nguesso visited the Avenue des Chars this afternoon. The chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party [PCT] went there to support PCT candidates who will be running in the second round of the legislative elections in Wenzé's seventh district. The rally was held at the market square. Here is Dieudonné Nkombo with a report:

[Nkombo] It took PCT leader Denis Sassou-Nguesso one hour to make his way through the thick crowd which had lined up from the Avenue des Trois Martyrs to the Mba bus station on the Avenue des Chars.

Two important speeches were delivered during this rally. The Wenzé PCT branch chairman, Jean Mongele, who was the first to mount the platform, welcomed the PCT Central Committee chairman, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, and went on to explain the purpose of this rally. This rally, he stressed, was meant to breathe new life into the party's four candidates who will be running in the second round of the legislative elections.

Denis Sassou-Nguesso then mounted the platform to say that this rally was not connected in any way with the presidential campaign which, in any case, has not yet opened. I came to reassure you about my health and my spirits, which are high contrary to what my detractors have been coming to tell you, the PCT chairman said. Party leaders have talked for two years without their leader; it is now time for me to break my silence. According to the PCT chairman, he kept this silence to prevent any form of chaos in the country. The battle will now be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, Sassou-Nguesso said, adding that he intends to respond to all attacks from all directions.

Explaining the results achieved by his party since the beginning of the elections, the PCT leader pointed out that all the voting took place amid anarchy and cheating, from the referendum right through to the local elections and the first round of the legislative elections. The dismissal of the first government amply testifies to this. I will not tolerate any anarchy during the presidential elections, President Sassou-Nguesso reiterated. We opted for democracy not to divide this country, but to allow all the different political tendencies to participate in running its affairs. He therefore called on his party's activists to strive for national unity and to guarantee peace, without which this country cannot be built.

Denis Sassou-Nguesso dwelt at length on strife-torn countries such as Rwanda, Liberia, and Somalia. In conclusion, he ended his speech on a note of satisfaction and made a date with all his supporters for the upcoming presidential election campaign.

Rwanda

President Habyarimana Leaves for France, Belgium

EA1507215092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la
Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, the president of the Republic, left Kigali this morning for a working visit to France and Belgium. The head of state will take this opportunity to inform the peoples of the two countries about the current economic and political situation in Rwanda. The president's visit is within the framework of regular consultations and exchanges of views on current issues.

Ministers Comment on Results of Arusha Talks**Ngulinzira on Unity**

EA1507174592 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT
14 Jul 92

[Statement by Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira in Kigali on 14 July—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Immediately after I returned from Arusha this afternoon, I was received by the president of the Republic and the prime minister, to whom I reported on the conclusions of the Arusha talks. Together we examined the task of the Rwandan Government and the entire Rwandan people in achieving peace. The first measures will possibly be taken from 15 July by the Council of Ministers after it is briefed on the conclusions of the Arusha negotiations. [passage omitted]

While in Arusha I pointed out the Rwandan Government's position on the question of Rwandan refugees; namely, that the Rwandan Government recognizes that the return of refugees is an inalienable right and that this constitutes for Rwanda a factor of peace, unity, and national reconciliation, as the refugee problem is at the heart of the current conflict. This problem is a result of the climate that prevailed in the country during the struggle for the establishment of a republican regime and independence, during which a part of the Rwandan people, who never lost their right to be Rwandans, was forced to seek refuge and security outside the country.

I said that the government would endeavor to ensure that in as short a time as possible there would be no Rwandan anywhere still bearing the very unbecoming label of refugee. The Arusha talks proved the desire of the two sides to settle the conflict through negotiations. The Rwandan Patriotic Front expressed its conviction about the goodwill of the transitional government to work toward that goal.

I would like to make a strong appeal to all Rwandans who love their country and want peace for it to contribute, each one personally, to the success of this enterprise which is designed to restore peace. Each Rwandan man and woman must therefore, with his thoughts, words, and deeds work toward achieving peace in Rwanda.

The contribution of Radio Rwanda, which covered the Arusha negotiations, will be crucial in ultimately bringing Rwandans to understand that national unity and national reconciliation are vital for the country.

I was actually encouraged, while in Arusha, by the communique issued on 11 July by the Catholic bishops of Rwanda, which laid emphasis on the contribution of each Rwandan man and woman to the achievement of peace and which specifically asked the negotiators to put the interests of the Rwandan people above all else. May the Rwandan people praise God for the results of the Arusha negotiations, which have finally opened up prospects for peace in our country.

Gasana on Cease-Fire

*AB1507153592 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 14 Jul 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The peace agreement signed by the Rwandan Government and the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] rebels in Arusha last night is the third attempt to end the 21-month-old rebellion. The truce is due to come into effect in five days' time, followed by a cease-fire at the end of the month. The agreement will be monitored by neutral military observers. But the negotiations still have a long way to go. The RPF wants a place in Rwanda's transitional coalition government and the integration of their fighters into a new national army, and two previous agreements have come to nothing. On the line to Kigali, Richard Hall has asked Dr. James Gasana, Rwanda's defense minister and a member of President Habyarimana's MRND [National Republican Movement for Development] party, what he thought of the Arusha agreement.

[Begin recording] [Gasana] I think it is very important and historical. I think it is a step toward the final process

of peace negotiations. I think if both parties maintain that goodwill, we hope that we will end with definite cease-fire.

[Hall] But it only differs slightly from the previous agreement that was signed at Gbadolite, and that cease-fire was very swiftly broken.

[Gasana] The reason of the breaking of the Gbadolite cease-fire was not to be located on our side. That is what I can say, and on our side, we will do everything we can to make those agreements successful, and we hope the other side will; and we have no reason to state that they will not.

[Hall] What about the joint political and military commission that is going to be set up? What is your view on that?

[Gasana] I think it is something necessary, in order, I think, to coordinate the follow-up of the whole peace process.

[Hall] So you will have no objection to working with someone from the RPF?

[Gasana] Not at all. Not at all.

[Hall] Now, what about the conditions that foreign troops, apart from a handful of advisers, are withdrawing from Rwanda? This refers mainly, I assume, to French troops.

[Gasana] That is no problem because there are no foreign troops combating alongside our own troops. We have no difficulty with that. We are fighting the war ourselves. We have no foreign troops in our ranks.

[Hall] Now some observers say that this agreement is all very well, but it is threatening to split this coalition government, because the opposition parties are very keen on it, but President Habyarimana and his party are less keen on seeing this agreement really work. What is your reaction to that?

[Gasana] Well, let me tell you one thing, that it is not true at all. The whole peace plan is well supported by all the government, all the parties, and certainly the president himself is supportive of the whole plan that is being followed. [end recording]

Kenya

Moi Notes High Cost of Managing Political Change

EA1607072092 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said that management of major political changes is an expensive undertaking requiring a heavy capital. He said it was therefore an irony for Western countries to press for political changes in other countries without allocating funds for such undertakings.

The president added that such changes ought to be allowed to grow naturally, taking into consideration the traditions, attitudes, and aspirations peculiar to different nations. At the same time, the president said that if the changes are to be of any benefit in the relevant countries, they have to be managed by those who know the people and their needs best.

The president was speaking at State House, Nairobi, while meeting with members of the Japanese society of modernization. The society comprises ex-Japanese ministers, former senior government officials, and current top executives of financial institutions and conglomerates.

On the economic situation in the country, President Moi said that Kenya raises 96.5 per cent of her budget while the rest was from outside donor countries and aid agencies. The president also pointed out that since independence, Kenya has always paid her debts on time.

President Moi told the Japanese team that the current economic problem should be eased now that foreign aid would be forthcoming. He said the foreign donors had appreciated the goodwill and well-intentioned performance of the government and hence the willingness to release funds. President Moi at the same time thanked the Japanese Government for its consistency in its economic aid to Kenya. Noting that Kenya was strategically situated to serve the vast markets in the region, the president urged Japanese entrepreneurs to invest in the country either individually or in joint ventures. [passage omitted]

Opposition Figures Comment on Election Concerns

AB1607075092 Paris AFP in English 1833 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Nairobi, July 15 (AFP)—Kenya's ruling party has proposed to give the president the power to form a government even if his party fails to win a majority in parliament, sparking a row with the opposition. Presidential and parliamentary elections are due before March. But there is widespread speculation here that President Daniel arap Moi, who lifted a ban on opposition parties under international pressure in December, will call elections towards the end of this year.

The parliamentary group of Moi's ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) is pressing for constitutional changes to allow the winner of the presidential poll to

form a government regardless of the outcome of the parliamentary election, newspapers reported Wednesday. But opposition leaders expressed concern about the proposals, saying they would allow the president to override parliament, as the head of state has the power to dissolve parliament. "We fear Moi may try to rig the presidential election so that he retains the presidency and even if KANU loses the parliamentary election he will still manage to hang on to power," Raila Odinga, a member of the opposition Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, told AFP.

Diplomats said the changes were almost certain to be voted into law by the all-KANU parliament, as proposals by the party's parliamentary group are usually accepted.

Kenya's four main opposition parties—the Forum, the Democratic Party, the Kenya National Democratic Alliance and the Social Democratic Party—went to court Tuesday in a bid to obtain a High Court decision cancelling the registration of voters for the forthcoming election. Last month the opposition called for a boycott of voter registration to protest alleged cheating by the government and KANU officials. Two weeks ago, however, they withdrew the call, saying the government was responding positively to demands to establish an independent election commission.

Party officials said KANU had since failed to "take steps to remove anomalies in registration." The 30 days allotted by the government to register Kenya's estimated 10 million voters end Friday. About seven million people have registered to vote.

The opposition has suggested immediate re-registration, giving voters until September 8 to enter their names on the electoral roll. Kenya has invited Commonwealth observers to monitor the elections.

Meanwhile Kenyan journalists have protested proposed changes in libel laws that would make journalists pay huge damages if found guilty of defamation or malicious reporting.

The Kenyan Union of Journalists said a new media bill to go before parliament was "an attempt to muzzle the press."

Opposition magazine editor Gitobu Manyara said the proposal was intended "to kill what was left of the freedom of the press in Kenya."

Uganda

Museveni Views Present, Future Status of Parties

EA1507213092 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1900 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has said that the question of whether political parties should be allowed to

operate or not will be resolved by the ongoing constitutional process. In the meantime, all old political parties must observe the ban on certain partisan political activities.

The president was today answering the questions put to him when he was addressing over 700 senior (?16) leavers who were now on a political education course at a single training wing.

The president pointed out that elements of the old political parties, who have been flouting or disregarding this ban, will force him to use the legal instruments at his disposal to restore respect for the sovereign authority of the entire people of Uganda.

He pointed out that the old political parties are synonymous with the people of Uganda and must have ordinary common sense to wait for the decision of the entire people of Uganda regarding their government.

In answer to another question, President Museveni (?said) the ultimate determinant of the political events in Uganda are the people of Uganda themselves. He stressed that external interests, who have made it a habit to interfere in the politics of Uganda, will not be allowed to again distort the destiny of our people.

It should not be forgotten that the people of Uganda rescued this destiny from the hands of primitive fascists a few years ago at a high cost in terms of lives, and development was destroyed or (?foregone). The president again told the 734 senior (?16) leavers, who include 121 girls and will soon be going for further studies at universities and other postsecondary school institutions, that Africa is the most backward continent on the globe as of today. He enumerated to them the various steps taken by the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government to address the phenomenon of backwardness in Uganda. [passage omitted]

ANC's Mandela Addresses UN Security Council

MB1607133592 Johannesburg.SAPA in English
1240 GMT 16 Jul 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress: "Statement of the President of the African National Congress, Nelson R. Mandela, at the United Nations Security Council, New York, July 15, 1992]

[Text] Mr President, distinguished members of the Security Council, Your Excellency Dr Butrus Butrus-Ghali, secretary general of the United Nations, ministers and ambassadors, ladies and gentlemen,

First of all, we would like to express our appreciation to the Security Council for agreeing to convene on the question of South Africa. We would also like to thank you most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to address you.

The United Nations has been seized with the question of South Africa for the past 45 years.

The reason for this is that our people have been subjected to the policy of apartheid which the United Nations has determined is a crime against humanity and helping to transform our country into a non-racial democracy. This objective has not yet been achieved.

South Africa continues to be governed by a white minority regime. The overwhelming majority of our people are still denied the vote. They remain deprived of the right to determine their destiny.

Representatives of the South African Government will also address you today. However sweet-sounding the words they may utter, they represent the system of white minority rule to which the United Nations is opposed. They continue to govern our country under a constitution which the Security Council has declared null and void.

Precisely because its purposes have not yet been achieved, the United Nations must remain seized with the question of South Africa. It must continue to look for ways and means by which it can help to expedite the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country.

In the meantime an extremely critical situation has arisen.

Whereas in the declaration of intent adopted at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa on the 21st December, 1991 we all committed ourselves to set in motion the process whereby a democratic constitution would be drafted and adopted for a united, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, the process is deadlocked.

The problem is that the ruling white minority government continues to look for ways and means by which it can guarantee itself the continued exercise of power, regardless of its electoral support. The regime insists that the political majority, no matter how large, should be subjected to veto by minority political parties. Unless government is forthcoming with a firm commitment to full democracy based on

internationally accepted principles, and an acceptance of a sovereign and democratic constitution making body, the process will not move forward.

But the Council meets today because this process has been brought to a halt by the carnage in the black townships. Over the last five to six years, at least 11,000 people have died as a result of this violence. During the month of June 1992 there have been 373 deaths and 395 injuries. 1,806 have been killed and 2,931 injured during the period January, 1992 to June 1992.

Control of state power by the National Party regime allows it the space to deny and cover up the role of the regime, its surrogates, the state security forces and the police in fostering and fomenting the violence. Our memorandum of the 9th July, 1992 to Mr. F. W. de Klerk sets out the evidence of numerous instances, both of acts of omission and commission, which bear out government involvement in the violence. In particular, we draw your attention to the annexure entitled "Involvement of the Security Forces in the Fomenting and Escalation of Violence", and Annexure 3 entitled "South African Government Support for the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]".

Mr. President:

Many years of struggle both inside and outside of South Africa brought us to the point in 1989 when, in its consensus declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, the General Assembly concluded that circumstances existed for a negotiated resolution of the South Africa question.

In that declaration the General Assembly said that such negotiations should, as a result of agreements that would be entered into by the liberation movement and the government, be conducted in an atmosphere free of violence.

We were and are in full agreement with these positions. They were adopted by the General Assembly precisely because it was correctly foreseen that the process of negotiations could not succeed while a virtual civil war raged in the country.

Pursuant to this objective, in August 1990 the ANC [African National Congress] decided to suspend all armed actions. We did this unilaterally as a demonstration of our good faith and to help create an atmosphere free of violence.

At the same time it was expected that, for its part, the regime would carry out various measures which would remove obstacles to negotiations, and that it would ensure that a proper climate for negotiations did in fact exist.

Instead we have been confronted with an escalating spiral of violence.

An independent socio-political and development agency known as Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) has prepared five reports with regard to the pattern of violence. One of these reports comes to the conclusion that:

"The violence appears to be switched on and off at strategic moments."

It continues:

"Behind the scenes of brutality ... is the clear evidence that the violence erupts at points when it most weakens the ANC and its allies and dies down dramatically when it would most harm the government of F. W. de Klerk."

It then goes on to say:

"Two political parties have clearly benefited from the Reef violence. The first is the National Party government ... The second major beneficiary has been Inkatha."

Another report deals with 13 attacks on funerals or funeral vigils which took place on the Reef between July, 1990 and July, 1991. This study concludes that there is "an overwhelming predominance of acts of aggression carried out by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Those attacks, moreover, are carried out with the active or passive support of the South African Police [SAP]."

It is more than clear to us that this violence is both organized and orchestrated. It is specifically directed at the democratic movement, whose activists, members and supporters make up the overwhelming majority of its victims.

It constitutes a cold blooded strategy of state terrorism intended to create the conditions under which the forces responsible for the introduction and entrenchment of the system of apartheid would have the possibility of imposing their will on a weakened democratic movement at the negotiations table.

However, as had been foreseen by this organization, this violence also has the effect of making negotiations impossible. Already in April, 1991, when this campaign of terror grew to new heights, we were left with no choice but to suspend the bilateral negotiations with the regime until it took various measures to address the question of violence.

It is now common cause that the agreements that the government reached with the ANC in May 1991 aimed at curbing the violence have not been carried out by the regime.

Faced with the horrendous escalation of the violence, as evidenced in the Boipatong massacre, occurring in the context of the negotiations deadlock, the ANC has been forced to withdraw from the multilateral process of negotiations which had been taking place in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The blame for this lies squarely at the door of the regime. It, and nobody else, has the law enforcement personnel and the legal authority to stop this violence and to act against the perpetrators.

As the governing authority, it has the obligation to protect the lives and property of all the people. It has failed dismally to do this.

The regime's actions, including its persistent efforts to shift the blame for the violence and the responsibility to act against it to political organisations, have served to ensure the escalation of the carnage.

Though the causes of the violence are many and complex it is important that we should all have a clear perspective. It is the regime which controls state power with the capacity to bring the violence to an end. Complicity of state security forces is established by the evidence which emerged in numerous court trials, inquests and commissions and is recognised in the Goldstone Commission as well as reports of international fact finding missions.

It is also clear that the central thrust of the violence is to weaken the ANC and the democratic movement of the country.

In the face of this situation, it is also true that there are instances of counter violence by members of the democratic movement. At the same time, it is a matter of public record that the ANC policy stands opposed to the promotion of violence. We remain firmly committed to this position. But our task of ensuring that this policy position is fully and completely adhered to is made more than difficult because of the practice of the state security forces, its surrogates and the fact that it is the police controlled by the regime who remain in charge of investigating the violence, in which the state security forces are implicated, and bringing the perpetrators to book.

The ANC maintains that government culpability for the violence extends to acts of commission as well as omission.

The International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have blamed the government for failure to act against the violence. Amnesty International notes governments "failure to bring to justice all but a tiny proportion of those involved in human rights violations ...".

Judge Goldstone in his report dated the 6th July, 1992 complains of several instances where the authorities have ignored the recommendations of his commission.

Not a single person has been convicted in connection with the 49 massacres that claimed the lives of at least ten people in each of the incidents that have occurred in the past two years.

Where there have been proper investigations and vigorous prosecution as resulted from the Trust Feed massacre of December 1988, convictions have been secured. Those convicted were policemen.

In 1985 Matthew Goniwe and three other Eastern Cape leaders were murdered. In May this year a document, whose authenticity has not been challenged, a message from the SADF [South African Defense Forces] military intelligence chief, General C. P. van der Westhuizen (then a brigadier) proposed to the State Security Council that the four authorise "the urgent removal from society" of Goniwe and the others. No move has been made to suspend Van der Westhuizen from his position.

No action has been taken to suspend the head of the SAP forensic laboratories, General Lothar Neethling, after a Supreme Court civil case finding in January 1991 that his involvement in the poisoning of activists was on the balance of probabilities true.

Despite a judicial commission finding implicating several Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) members in political violence, none has been charged. At least 20 CCB members, and probably many more, remain on the SADF payroll. Others have been offered or received huge pensions. Several have demanded immunity from prosecution.

In February 1992 it came to light that local white policemen based at the Ermelo police station encouraged and actively helped a gang of vigilantes in Wessellon. No policemen concerned has been suspended.

In an official operation in 1986 the SADF gave military training in Namibia to 200 Inkatha members who were later absorbed into the KwaZulu Police [KZP]. Several trainees in sworn affidavits, claimed to have been trained in offensive warfare. The regime has dismissed this incident on the grounds that they received vip protection training. Some of the trainees have subsequently been implicated in the violence in Natal.

No action has been taken to control and limit the powers of the KwaZulu Police. Extensive evidence exists of KwaZulu partiality and involvement in the violence in the Natal Province.

However, as recently as July 1st, 1992 the powers of the KZP have in fact been strengthened. From that date the South African Police's internal stability unit will only act on unrest in KwaZulu if called on to do so by the KZP district commissioner.

In 1990 the Pretoria regime issued specific proclamations legalising the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. This repealed a prohibition which had been in force since 1891.

In other words, after the ANC and other organisations were unbanned in 1990, the Pretoria regime has created a situation in which hordes of men would spill out into the streets and enter public places with the most dangerous weapons. The government is unable to explain why it virtually gave people the license to kill and maim. It has never explained why its police and army regularly accompanied these killers after many murderous rampages and arrested nobody.

We charge, without equivocation, that there is a rational basis for these acts of omission on the part of the South African Government. The hard facts of the matter are the South African Government has never relented in its war against the democratic movement in our country.

Recently a covert police unit, operating in the area around Boipatong, came to public attention. It, and ten others operating in other regions of the country, exist for the purpose of suppressing the democratic movement which the government still regards as the enemy and a threat to so-called national security. Former officers and personnel of the security police have been redeployed into these clandestine networks.

There are persistent allegations that members of these units as well as those in special force units composed of foreign nationals, such as Angolans, Mozambicans and Namibians, are engaged in covert operations that include the assassination of leaders and activists of the democratic movement. They are also implicated in carrying out acts of terror against the population at large.

In order to confuse the issue and evade its responsibilities the government insists that the source of the violence is rivalry between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The fact of the matter however is that the IFP has permitted itself to become an extension of the Pretoria regime, its instrument and surrogate.

Its activities have been financed by the South African Government. Its members have been armed and trained by the South African Government. There is an abundance of evidence that it continues to benefit from covert co-operation with the South African Government.

It therefore becomes unclear whether its members act as an independent force or as an agency on behalf of the South African Government. However, it is not an independent force with whom the ANC must enter into an agreement to end the violence as the Pretoria regime asserts.

The documentation we have given to members of the Council details all the points we have raised, all of which confirm the criminal failure of the government properly to address the question of political violence which has claimed too many lives already, is tearing our country apart and making the process of negotiations impossible.

We would like to recall earlier decisions of this Council to help the people of South Africa to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We believe that commitment place an urgent obligation of the council to intervene in the South African situation to end the carnage.

The very interest of the Council to see the negotiations resumed so that a peaceful solution can be found, in keeping with the democratic principles contained in the General Assembly declaration on southern Africa of 1989 and the resolutions of the Security Council itself

requires of the Council that it act on this matter of violence in South Africa firmly and with the necessary speed.

We believe that this violence like the system of apartheid itself is a direct challenge to the authority of the Council and a subversion of its global tasks of furthering peace and promoting the objectives contained in both the UN Charter and the Declaration on Human Rights.

Failure on the part of the Council to act firmly and decisively cannot but undermine its prestige and authority at a time when the Council and the United Nations as a whole are called upon to play an even more active role in the ordering of world affairs.

We would therefore urge that the Council should request the secretary general to appoint a special representative on South Africa.

This representative should move speedily to investigate the situation in South Africa with a view to helping the Council to decide on the measures it should take to help us end the violence. The Council should then take the necessary decisions to implement such measures, including the continuous monitoring of the situation, to ensure the effectiveness of such measures as it would have undertaken.

We would also like to bring it to the notice of the Council, for the purpose of its information, that we have required of the government that it also completes the process of the release of political prisoners as well as the repeal of repressive legislation.

Again these are concrete steps visualised in the UN declaration to create a climate conducive to negotiations. That these matters remain on the agenda more than two years after we entered into a formal agreement with the South African Government that they would be attended to, demonstrates the problem we face of the reliability of the government in terms of implementing agreements it has entered into.

We would also like to take advantage of this opportunity to reaffirm our own commitment both to the process of negotiations and to a genuinely democratic outcome.

In this regard, we would again like to inform you that we have still to convince the government that it also should be committed to such a democratic outcome, accepting such ordinary concepts of a democratic system as majority rule and the absence of vetoes by minority parties.

We therefore still to overcome these obstacles so that the process of negotiations itself, as conducted within the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, can succeed.

We would further like to assure the council that we, who are after all the victims of the evil system of apartheid, are determined that the process of negotiations should lead to a democratic outcome as soon as possible.

We therefore need no urging regarding this matter. What we do need is the assistance of this august body to help us reopen the door to bona fide negotiations.

Mr President, distinguished members of the Council,

We thank you for the opportunity you have given us to address the Council and hope that you will respond to our appeal to help us end the carnage in South Africa with the understanding of the gravity of the situation which we know you share. Our people look forward to your decisions with great expectation.

Thank you.

Further on Disbanding of Koevoet, SADF Units

MB1507153992 Johannesburg: SAPA in English
1355 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Pretoria July 15 SAPA—The crime investigation service support unit, which includes a number of former Koevoet [former South-West Africa police counterinsurgency unit] members, was in the process of disbanding, the SA Police [SAP] confirmed on Wednesday.

Members attached to the unit and who intended joining the SA Police permanently could submit their applications in the normal manner and each would be considered on merit, the SAP said in a statement.

Those who joined the SAP permanently would receive suitable training and would be posted countrywide.

The disbandment of Koevoet and two controversial SA Defence Force [SADF] security units was announced by State President F W de Klerk on Tuesday night. The Koevoet unit is commanded by Brigadier Floris Mostert.

According to a police document, the Koevoet unit comprises 72 permanent police members, and 626 male and 40 female "labourers"—the Koevoet members.

After almost 300 former Koevoet members fled Namibia, the Cabinet decided in 1990 they should be employed as labourers by the SAP.

The unit has been accused of complicity in township violence, including Boipatong.

The unit is divided into 15 teams of about 38 members each, deployed across the country, with its base at Roosburg near Rustenburg.

Police said Koevoet members were not allowed to be armed, and were used mainly for such tasks as combating cattle theft and game poaching, as trackers in criminal cases, and tracing illegal immigrants.

The rationalisation process of the SADF units—31 and 32 Battalions—would take some time, probably months, to complete.

The process would have to ensure that:

- training and preparation of individual members and families was such that they may be assimilated into South African society;
- community and family life be maintained in the process; and
- members should be able to decide whether they wished to remain in the Defence Force or whether they wanted to seek other employment in South Africa or even return to their country of origin.

"In the event of members deciding to leave the Defence Force they would be treated like any other South African soldier."

ANC Questions Motives

*MB1507193892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1800 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 15 SAPA—State President F W de Klerk's announcement of measures to curb violence was crafted to provide the government with ammunition at the United Nations Security Council meeting on Wednesday, the African National Congress [ANC] said.

In a statement issued on Wednesday evening, the ANC said Mr de Klerk's statement was one more example "of the South African Government's trivialisation of the serious crisis that faces our country."

"The statement was clearly crafted to provide Pretoria's foreign minister, Roelof 'Pik' Botha, with the 'ammunition' he requested to counter the ANC's charges before the United Nations Security Council meeting in New York today."

Mr de Klerk on Tuesday announced the disbanding of the SADF's [South African Defense Force] controversial 31 Battalion, 32 Battalion and the SA Police's Koevoet [former South-West African counterinsurgency force]; action on hostels; and restrictions on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The ANC's initial response to the statement on Wednesday morning was that it did have some positive elements, but crucial issues would still have to be addressed.

Their detailed response later on Wednesday was more critical and accused Mr de Klerk of distorting and misrepresenting the Goldstone Commission findings on the causes of violence.

"In his zeal to make cheap party political propaganda, De Klerk pretends that the Goldstone Commission concurs with the NP's [National Party] view that it is rivalry between the ANC and IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] that lies at the root of the violence."

"Quite the contrary is in fact the case. In a passage that deserves to be quoted in full, the Goldstone Commission

said: '...The causes of the violence are many and complicated. In historical sequence they include: the economic, social and political imbalances amongst the people of South Africa. These are the consequences of three centuries of racial discrimination and over 40 years of an extreme form of racial and economic dislocation in consequence of the policy of apartheid.'"

The ANC said Mr de Klerk's allegation that the ANC had instructed functionaries to kill policemen was scurrilous.

"The ANC rejects this baseless charge as a the scandalous lie that it is."

President de Klerk appeared incapable of rising to the demands of the situation in South Africa.

Rather than addressing the crisis into which his government had plunged the country, he had opted for the tactics of a small-time politician—the redeployment of foreign mercenaries into other units of the SADF, and the redeployment of Koevoet members within the South African Police force.

"Beyond that he has merely mouthed the useless promises he and his ministers have made in the past."

"It tests the credulity of the South African public to repeat once again the platitudes about consultations as regard the fencing, upgrading and phasing out of hostels."

"A full eighteen months ago the De Klerk government made the self-same promises and has still not acted."

Mr de Klerk's assurances that the attorney-general was acting on the recommendations made by the Goldstone Commission did not explain investigations that had allowed police miscreants to get away with murder.

"More significantly, the name of General van der Westhuizen, head of the SADF military intelligence, once again is implicated in this murder plot."

"De Klerk still has not explained why such a person retains his position in the SADF enabling him to use the powers of his office for such nefarious purposes."

Attempts to link violence to the ANC-initiated campaign for peace and democracy were sinister.

"The ANC once again asserts the untrammelled right of the people of this country to engage in every form of peaceful political activity. We have never, nor shall we ever, recognise the right of any government to abridge that right."

"At the United Nations Security Council the case of the democratic movement will be laid before the court of international public opinion. We have every confidence that it is unassailable."

COSATU Reaction

*MB1507173292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1653 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[Text] Johannesburg July 15 SAPA—The Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] on Wednesday said State President F W de Klerk's announcement of government steps to end the violence was nothing more than playing "to the gallery at the United Nations".

"The timing and content of De Klerk's statement clearly suggests that he is not serious about addressing the crisis we are facing at home, but is rather attempting to play to the gallery at the United Nations," COSATU said in a statement.

Mr de Klerk on Tuesday night announced, among other things, the disbandment of controversial SADF [South African Defense Force] batallions, action on hostels and further restrictions on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

COSATU said his failure to address the organisation's demands, barely two weeks before a general strike, was effectively telling the majority "do your damndest".

"Mr de Klerk has totally failed to address the critical areas of government intransigence which led to the current deadlock," COSATU said.

"In particular there is no indication that the government is reconsidering its refusal to move rapidly towards democratic elections for a sovereign constituent assembly, or to abandon its proposals for a minority veto."

Mr de Klerk's proposal to disband 31 Batallion, 32 Batallion and Koevoet [former South-West African police counterinsurgency unit] was nothing more than a half-measure.

"In fact, if anything these measures may worsen the situation.

"The decision to integrate the mercenary units...into the security forces is fatally defective."

It would disperse trained killers, making it impossible to control and monitor their activities.

The proposal also ignored covert units which had been implicated in death squad activities.

Mr de Klerk's decision to ban dangerous weapons in unrest areas was nothing new, COSATU said.

"This announcement was already made last year, and has been ignored by De Klerk's own security forces, when it suits them."

COSATU said the lack of urgency with which Mr de Klerk was treating the hostels issue called into question the sincerity of the government's commitment last year to phase out single-sex hostels.

"It is an insult to the thousands of bona fide hostel dwellers who have been chased out of the hostels, and others who continue to be terrorised in the hostels by vigilantes, for De Klerk to claim that the government doesn't want to upgrade the hostels without 'consulting' hostel dwellers.

"On the other hand they allow vigilantes to use these hostels as armed barracks to terrorise both hostel dwellers and township residents.

"By refusing to take decisive action on the hostels, De Klerk is not only sanctioning the repeated massacres which are being planned and executed from them, but is denying bona fide hostel dwellers access to safe and decent accomodation."

AZAPO Sees 'Ploy'

*MB1607091192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2150 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[Text] Durban July 15 SAPA—State President F. W de Klerk merely intended to maintain members of three controversial Defence Force units within the South African security establishment, the left wing Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) alleged on Wednesday.

AZAPO Publicity Secretary Strini Moodley was reacting to Mr de Klerk's announcement on Tuesday [14 July] night that three controversial security force units—31 and 32 Battalion and Koevoet [former South-West Africa police counterinsurgency unit]—would be disbanded as part of efforts to end violence in South Africa.

Mr Moodley said the announcement "can only mean that (Mr) De Klerk is intent upon maintaining these elements within his security establishment".

"What he fails to understand is that his entire security establishment is suspect and cannot be reformed from within.

"Nothing short of the complete quarantine of the security forces and the introduction of neutral peace-keeping forces will resolve the problem of violence in the country.

"It seems to AZAPO that (Mr) De Klerk's ploy is nothing more than a show for the international community even as the United Nations is entertaining statements by the various political players in our country."

Mr Moodley was referring to a UN debate on South Africa due to be held on Wednesday.

Traditional Leaders Comment

*MB1607085392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2125 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[Text] Umtata July 15 SAPA—While welcoming government moves announced on Tuesday [14 July] to end the violence in South Africa, the Congress of Traditional

Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) castigated the government for failing to take action earlier.

In a statement issued in Umtata, Contralesa President Chief Patekile Holomisa said State President F. W. de Klerk's "belated admission that the dreaded 31 and 32 Battalions and the Koevoet [former South-West Africa police counterinsurgency unit] unit are a contributory factor in the current violence is commended."

On Tuesday night Mr de Klerk announced the disbanding of the three security force units, the upgrading of single-sex hostels, and moves towards the banning of traditional weapons.

The moves follow recommendations by the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

Chief Holomisa said Mr de Klerk's moves were "in fact an admission that the government is directly involved in the violence in spite of its previous denials".

Chief Holomisa called for the repatriation of the members of the three Defence Force units.

"The taxpayers of this country have no moral obligation to pay for the maintenance of these mercenaries and/or their families," he said.

"Of course the piecemeal attempts at ending violence are not going to solve the problems besetting South Africa."

Chief Holomisa called on Mr de Klerk to facilitate the establishment of an interim government "of a very limited duration" and the election of a constituent assembly.

CP Denunciation

*MB1607145092 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 16 Jul 92*

[Text] The Conservative Party [CP] has denounced State President F. W. de Klerk for disbanding the SADF's [South African Defense Force] 31 and 32 Battalions.

CP defense spokesman Willie Snyman says it is alarming that De Klerk is prepared to make structural changes to the Defense Force at the ANC's insistence.

Snyman says he wonders how much further the government will be prepared to break down the country's security services for an organization that not so long ago had been the primary enemy of the SADF.

He says De Klerk's action creates the impression of a gradual handing over of the power of the sword to the ANC.

De Klerk Views UK Arrest of SADF Members

*MB1507162192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1454 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[Text] Pretoria July 15 SAPA—President F W de Klerk on Wednesday reacted to reports that two SADF [South

African Defense Forces] members had been arrested in the UK where they had been sent to investigate a terrorism link between the African National Congress' [ANC] military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] and the Irish Republican Army.

Mr de Klerk said he was fully informed at the time of the incident, and had given instructions that every assistance and co-operation should be given to the British authorities.

Reports on Wednesday quoted London's INDEPENDENT newspaper as saying the two agents—identified as Captain Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores, a former policeman on military intelligence's payroll—were arrested in London after allegedly plotting with Irish guerrillas to murder fugitive former police Captain Dirk Coetzee.

They had been followed since their arrival at Heathrow Airport on April 11, following a tip-off by the SA Police, the INDEPENDENT said.

They were interrogated for three days before being released and sent home.

Mr de Klerk said on Wednesday: "Departmental investigations are continuing and I hope to be informed of the final result soon.

"These results will also be communicated to the British authorities at which time a decision will be taken whether a further public statement is deemed desirable."

An SADF spokesman said on Wednesday that military intelligence was investigating the background of one of the Defence Force members, whose activities in the United Kingdom were halted by British authorities.

The two SADF members had been sent to London to confirm a possible international terrorism link between Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Irish Republican Army, the spokesman said.

During the visit one member, acting without the sanction or knowledge of the Defence Force, or any other government authority, allegedly decided to arrange for the monitoring of Dirk Coetzee.

The spokesman said the SADF had no interest whatsoever in Mr Coetzee.

After the SADF members' activities had been halted by the British authorities, the SADF's military intelligence division embarked on a thorough investigation, with close co-operation between the British and South African authorities.

"The possibility of collusion between the individual in question and an individual or individuals who are not members of the SADF is also being investigated," the Defence Force spokesman said.

President de Klerk would be told of the progress made in, and results achieved by, the investigation.

Called 'Prime Target'

*MB1607092692 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 16 Jul 92*

[Text] Former hit squad policeman Dirk Coetzee says third force assassins view State President F.W. de Klerk as a prime target.

Coetzee says De Klerk is in great danger from within, from the same people who have failed to murder him. A British newspaper reported yesterday that South African military intelligence agents were sent to London to assassinate Coetzee. The SADF [South African Defense Force] has denied this. Coetzee has offered to return to South Africa immediately to help investigations.

Observers say the leaking of the Coetzee assassination story may have been deliberately timed to help De Klerk purge extremists from the security forces.

ANC Occupies NP Cape Offices, Holds Mock Trial

*MB1507145992 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[Text] Fifty members of the African National Congress Youth League [ANCYL] this afternoon occupied the Cape Province offices of the National Party [NP] in Cape Town.

Our political staff reports that the occupation of the offices was preceded by a mock trial on the Parade at which government leaders, including State President F. W. de Klerk, were given life sentences for so-called crimes against the community.

Mr. Tony Yengeni, ANCYL secretary general and a member of the SACP [South African Communist Party] Central Committee, said at the trial that when the ANC comes to power, mock trials could be followed by real people's courts similar to the Nuremberg trials.

The group left the building about an hour later, after presenting a list of demands to the NP.

Justice Minister's Condemnation

*MB1607083192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0320 GMT 16 Jul 92*

[Text] Pretoria July 15 SAPA—Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetzee has strongly condemned the mock trials by African National Congress Youth League demonstrators in Cape Town's Grand Parade on Wednesday [16 July].

He said in a statement the demonstrations, in which State President F. W. de Klerk and Foreign Affairs

Minister Pik Botha were given "life sentences" at mock trials, "pushes one's tolerance to the extreme".

Mr Coetzee said the flagrant rejection of the National Peace Accord by leaders of the gathering was to be "strongly condemned as it makes one come to the alarming conclusion that the negotiation process was previously misused for hidden agendas, especially as a similar case in Pietermaritzburg has been reported to the National Peace Committee as a breach of the accord.

"It is extremely deplorable that falsehood is now becoming a propaganda base. I have no doubt that the people who actually lose out in this process are the organisers of the gathering themselves."

Such "calculated cold-bloodedness" could lead to further tension, reaction and even bloodshed.

"It is possible that where use is made of inciting and provoking methods, it could lead to further eruption and conflict. Any authority in a democratic system will have to consider how to handle the matter in such a situation," said Mr Coetzee.

Inkatha To Protest

*MB1607083492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2244 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the office of the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP: "Statement by Mr Kim Hodgson, IFP Spokesman"]

[Text] Durban—The mock trial held at the Cape Town Grand Parade by the ANC [African National Congress] Youth League [ANCYL] where political opponents of the ANC were symbolically sentenced to life imprisonment is a deliberate slap in the face to all signatories of the National Peace Accord and shows utter contempt for the provisions of that accord by the ANCYL.

The sentencing of political leaders such as Dr Buthelezi, President de Klerk and Minister Pik Botha to death or to life imprisonment at mock trials is inflammatory and can only result in increased tensions.

The matter of today's mock trial will be referred immediately to the complaints committee of the National Peace Committee which meets tomorrow (Thursday) to address the IFP's complaints with regard to another ANC trial at which 12 IFP leaders were sentenced to death on June 26.

Whilst these trials are supposedly symbolic, the reality is that people's justice has resulted in necklacings, mutilations, murder and incarceration for those who have been denied legal representation or even the right to defend themselves. Such trials are thus threatening and provocative.

The voting public of South Africa is indeed fortunate that the ANC has chosen to display its true colours now, instead of maintaining the pretence of "peace and democracy" until after elections.

If allegations are true that ANC MP, Mr Jan van Eck and other ANC leadership figures participated in the trial proceedings in Cape Town, the IFP will insist that all involved be summoned before the complaints committee to explain themselves.

Silence from the ANC National Executive Committee [NEC] on trials of their political opponents can only be taken as condoning these actions. In the current state of political instability such silence is totally irresponsible and must be soundly condemned.

Flagrant and continuous violations of the National Peace Accord by the ANC and its leaders brings into question their commitment to peace and democracy. Each time the accord is violated, the more tarnished it becomes. The accord is being seriously eroded by continuous wilful violations of its provisions by the ANC and this fact raises deepest concern.

The IFP calls on the ANC NEC to act responsibly and to address this issue with the seriousness and urgency that it deserves.

'Severe Criticism' From DP

MB1607092592 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] Yesterday's ANC [African National Congress] Youth League mock trial of President F.W. de Klerk in Cape Town evoked severe criticism from the Democratic Party [DP]. The DP MP for Yeoville and member of the parliamentary standing committee on justice, Mr. Douglas Gibson, called on ANC President Nelson Mandela to repudiate the trial and its participants. Mr. Gibson slammed the trial as a mockery of justice, adding that talk about the Nuremberg trials in South Africa trivialized the holocaust in Nazi Germany.

ANC Says Trials 'Spontaneous'

MB1607145792 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1200 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] says mock trials organized by its supporters are a spontaneous show of anger and frustration. He [as heard] said mock trials in Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town have been roundly condemned from many quarters as undermining the Peace Accord and the people's attitudes to the rule of law. But ANC Information Chief Pallo Jordan says this is the result of a misunderstanding. Here he talks to Rex Murrayfield:

[Begin recording] [Jordan] People are misunderstanding what a mock trial is about. A mock trial does not pretend to be a real trial. It does not pretend to be the rule of law. It is a purely symbolic, if you like, a psychodrama. It

seems to be a psychodrama by those who are participating in it and by those who are observing it.

[Murrayfield] But you don't think that it leads to a general degradation of the perception of what law is all about?

[Jordan] What has led to the degradation of what law is all about is the complete violation and trampling under principles of the rule of law in South Africa by the National Party government. [end recording]

Spokesman Criticizes ANC Over 'Disinformation'

MB1507200492 Johannesburg SABA in English 1740 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Pretoria July 15 SABA—The African National Congress [ANC] was the last organisation to accuse others of disinformation, particularly while the organisation itself was apparently waging an intensive propaganda hate campaign based on unsubstantiated allegations and blatant untruths against, especially, the SA Police.

This was said by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze on Wednesday in reaction to ANC criticism of media reportage.

Capt Kotze said the ANC's campaign recognised no restraint whatsoever, including the concept of truth itself, as was clearly demonstrated after the Boipatong tragedy when "the facts were necklaced by ANC propagandists", and where ANC supporters reportedly also attacked journalists and other members of the media.

Boipatong was a case in point where the propagation of patent untruths was exposed by the Goldstone Commission, he said.

Goldstone Commission Says Views Misrepresented

MB1607133292 Johannesburg SABA in English 0934 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] Cape Town July 16 SABA—The Goldstone committee and panel had been embarrassed by a press statement from the SAP [South African Police] based on a newspaper report which misrepresented the panel's views, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said on Thursday at a hearing of the committee into mass demonstrations, marches and picketing.

He was referring to the press statement issued on Wednesday [15 July] by the SAP public relations division in Pretoria in reaction to a news report which indicated that the commission felt the police should not act when attacked with stones, bottles and petrol bombs.

The statement said that under no circumstances would the SAP allow its members to be attacked by demonstrators.

"The committee would like to draw to the attention of the public that if newspaper reports did reflect such a suggestion by the panel, they misrepresented the panel's views.

"It is unfortunate that the public relations arm of the SAP reacted to an inaccurate news report published in the SUNDAY TIMES without consulting its representatives who were in possession of the full report.

"The misstatement of the panel's views in the SAP media statement has embarrassed the committee and the panel and is likely to have caused public confusion and unjustified criticism of the panel and the committee.

"The misstatement of the panel's view is also regrettable having regard to the very helpful and positive contribution made by the team of lawyers and senior police officers who are representing the SAP at this hearing and it is clearly inconsistent with their instructions," Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement.

Goldstone Panel Replies to Police on Weapons Issue

*MB1607135092 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1100 GMT 16 Jul 92*

[Text] The chairman of the international panel of the Goldstone Commission says the most troublesome issue in South African gatherings is the control of weapons at public gatherings.

Philip Hayman was presenting the panel's reply to representations made in response to the panel's report on mass gatherings issued last week. Hayman says the South African Police [SAP] should be empowered to prevent armed demonstrators from proceeding to a different location, as well as to disarm them. He says the SAP had recommended that a universal prohibition on carrying weapons in public places during a demonstration be controlled by a judicial power. Hayman says the panel regards this proposal as safe and may be useful to attain wider acceptance of the prohibition.

However, he says the panel does not agree with the ANC [African National Congress] that police should always initially be kept invisible at a demonstration.

Codesa Official Says Talks Resumption Unlikely

*MB1507142992 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] The Management Committee chairman of the now deadlocked Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, Pravin Gordhan, says that a resumption of negotiations is unlikely, unless issues of democracy and minority veto rights are resolved between government and the African National Congress [ANC]. Pravin Gordhan talks to reporter Jannie van Rensburg:

[Begin recording] [Gordhan] [Words indistinct] as uncertain and as not [words indistinct] as it has been

[words indistinct]. At this stage there is (?disparity) as to whether the differences between the National Party and the ANC are going to be easily resolved and unless the fundamental issue of democracy on the one hand and the minority veto on the other hand is resolved between the ANC and the government, the Codesa process is unlikely to continue.

[Van Rensburg] So you don't see [words indistinct] Codesa Three [word indistinct] within the next few months before the end of the year?

[Gordhan] Well it's very difficult to put a time frame on it. It could happen next week if there is the goodwill, particularly on the side of the government, to create a situation where the issue of the minority veto can be removed on the one hand and the issue of violence on the other hand. And in that [words indistinct], but not necessarily optimistic at this point in time.

[Van Rensburg] How would you see the intermediate future of South Africa? You sketched earlier the various scenarios.

[Gordhan] In the medium term the future is an extremely bleak one, in the sense that the government does not seem to be willing at this point in time to recede from fundamentally undemocratic practices, and unless as I said the issue of the minority veto is resolved, and there is a genuine desire by all state organizers to come to terms with how to control violence, we are not going to see any meaningful advance either to democracy or to peace. [end recording]

Peace Committee Lists Complaints of Violations

*MB1607080892 Johannesburg SABA in English
0148 GMT 16 Jul 92*

[SABA PR Wire Service issued by the National Peace Committee: "Further Peace Accord Transgressions To Be Investigated"]

[Text] At a meeting of the National Peace Executive [NPE] in Johannesburg today, the following formal complaints were lodged by the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP], regarding alleged contraventions of the National Peace Accord.

Put before the NPE by the National Party:

1. Distribution by the ANC [African National Congress] Youth League of a pamphlet entitled "Long Live the SA National Soccer Squad" containing the statements:

"De Klerk is a murderer."

"De Klerk has vowed to stop democracy from coming to our country."

"In the recent past, the South African Government has, in different ways, unequivocally demonstrated its opposition to any form of democratic change."

"De Klerk has personally resorted to blatant intimidation and vilification of apartheid's opponents."

"There is ample evidence to prove that he is personally accountable for the wanton destruction of people's property and the slaughter and murder of our people."

It is contended that these allegations constitute breaches of paragraphs 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 of the Peace Accord.

2. The alleged statement by ANC National Executive Committee [as received], Mr Steve Tshwete, at a rally at Mdantsane:

"De Klerk strides like a democrat abroad while he is a fascist inside South Africa."

The above statement would be a breach of paragraphs 2.1, 2.3, and 2.4 of the accord.

3. The report that a number of ANC members have been arrested in the past weeks with police and army uniforms in their possession. In the most recent incident in Durban ANC members were found to be in possession of two sets of army uniforms, as well as a membership card of the Inkatha Freedom Party. This would be a contravention of paragraphs 2.2 and 2.3 of the accord.

4. Reports in the press which state that Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] is stockpiling arms in Angola which it is contended, is a breach of paragraph 2.2 of the accord.

5. That ten South African citizens are, according to a report issued by Amnesty International, being held illegally by the ANC in Tanzania. Amnesty International states that at least one of these men was tortured by the ANC. This would breach paragraph 2.3 of the accord.

The following formal complaints were lodged by the Inkatha Freedom Party:

1. A press report which stated that ANC Youth League president, Mr Peter Mokaba had "confirmed" that it was the intention of the ANC to take the townships back to the era of "ungovernability" of the mid-80's.

"As part of our mass action we are going to identify and march towards the homes of police who killed our people during riots. We are going to harass their families so that they know that they are staying with killers in their families."

"We are going to return to the 1985 period with the establishment of street and block committees and people's courts. Residents are going to take their townships away from the government and run them as they please. After all, that is better than living in fear of being attacked by state agents who kill them in their sleep."

2. Another Youth League ANC official was reported in the press as saying that Sebokeng residents were being given arms by "comrades" who ran defence units in the Vaal Triangle township.

3. A press report that a new slogan had emerged among "firebrands" in the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] in Transvaal townships: "Kill a Cop a Day". The PAC is not a signatory to the accord. It has however, pledged its support for the principles enshrined in the accord and we urge that the NPC [National Peace Committee] contact the leadership of the PAC in this regard.

4. Reports in the press which state that Umkhonto we Sizwe is stockpiling arms in Angola.

According to procedure laid down in the National Peace Accord, all of the above complaints will be verified and brought before the National Peace Committee which meets next week. Should agreement between the political parties not be reached, the matters will be referred for arbitration. For further information contact Val Pauquet at

(011) 787-0735 or telephone and fax: 886-0084.

Poll Surveys Opinions on Violence, Mandela

MB1507171692 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Findings of a survey by the Human Sciences Research Council [HSRC] indicate that a feeling of insecurity and lack of trust in the Security Forces are two of the main reasons for the violence. The HSRC's political experts said in Pretoria that the feeling of insecurity prompted people to arm themselves and form self-protection structures such as private armies. Two thousand people took part in the study conducted between February and April this year. Sixty-four percent of respondents in April were of the opinion that the government had little or no control over the violence. A large majority of respondents were against private armies.

The popularity of the president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela among blacks dropped from 68 percent in February to 62 in April. The results also show that respondents favored State President F.W. de Klerk's proposals for an interim government. The survey indicated that a large percentage of the population followed developments at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] with a keen interest.

16 Jul Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB1607134692

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

De Klerk Must Control Security Forces, Suspend General—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 16 July in a page 16 editorial believes the disclosure that military

intelligence agents went to the United Kingdom in April, allegedly to assassinate former policeman and African National Congress, ANC, member Dirk Coetzee, is "deeply disturbing." The agents fell under the command of General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, the head of military intelligence "whose name appears on a signal message ordering Matthew Goniwe's assassination in 1985." Therefore, if Mr. de Klerk wants to convince South Africans he is in control of his security forces, he must "suspend General van der Westhuizen pending the outcome of investigations into his alleged involvement in the assassination of Mr Goniwe and the co-UDF [United Democratic Front] activists."

Killing of Policemen Amounts to Terrorism—A second editorial on the same page says the Azanian People's Liberation Army "apparently believes that killing policemen is the way to bring the Government down,

and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]-aligned firebrands have coined the slogan 'Kill a cop a day'. The campaign amounts to mindless terrorism."

SOWETAN

Dangerous for Government Not To Deliver on Promises—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 16 July in a page 10 editorial believes President de Klerk "went some way to meeting the ANC alliance's demands" by announcing the disbandment of three controversial security force units. "We would be churlish not to praise the State President for these announcements. We hope, though, that he was not simply playing to the gallery. While this meets some of the demands for the resumption of negotiations it would be dangerous for the Government not to deliver."

Angola

UNITA Spokesman on Elections, Malanje Incident

MB1607132692 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0500 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Interview with Jorge Alicerces Valentim, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola information secretary, by unidentified reporter on 15 July; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim, you are the information secretary for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], and we are very pleased to see you here at the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel [Vorgan] studios. This is a great honor for us. What do you think of the visits our beloved president has lately been paying to various parts of Angola?

[Valentim] I am very grateful for this opportunity to speak. To my mind, the visits to the country's (central) provinces by our beloved president, Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, have been great successes for UNITA and the Angolan people at large. The people showed much enthusiasm about President Dr. Savimbi's visits to Lubango, Mocamedes, and Caluquembe. A total of 90,000 people (attended) the Lubango rallies. More than 150,000 people attended the Mocamedes rally. (We were surprised) when more than 200,000 people turned up in Caluquembe. All this is further proof that the Angolan people want to change [words indistinct] in the country. We all aspire to an Angola that is truly Angolan, and to better lives with UNITA led by Dr. Savimbi, our beloved president.

[Reporter] Dr. Valentim, you have described Dr. Savimbi's visit to Caluquembe as surprising. Why is that?

[Valentim] It was the first time a president had visited the area. The people of Caluquembe, who had actively participated in the national resistance struggle, gave a tremendous welcome to Dr. Savimbi, the likes of which had never been seen before. Enthusiasm radiated from every face. You could see it in the faces of children, women, and men. You could see it in the faces of the young and of the old. The people showed their excitement and support all through the trip between the airport and the site of the rally. The people proved they are with UNITA. Dr. Savimbi also visited the Catholic mission in Caluquembe, and the local Protestant church-financed hospital. Everywhere everyone shouted: Dr. Savimbi!

[Reporter] Political forces connected with the People's Republic of Angola [RPA] Government have said Dr. Savimbi left Mocamedes rather hastily because of events in Malanje. What would you say to that?

[Valentim] It is a complete misconception to think that President Dr. Savimbi interrupted his visit to Mocamedes. Everything went in accordance with UNITA's plans. We know that the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] government had

every intention of undermining Dr. Savimbi's successful visit by creating a serious crisis in Malanje, in which it carried out a treacherous and barbarous attack on our military forces and civilian supporters who were about to inaugurate a new committee. The Mocamedes rally was orderly and very well attended. After that rally, he returned to Lubango to meet with intellectuals and university students, entrepreneurs, traditional rulers, and cadres in the Lubango, Mocamedes, and Cunene provincial secretariats. If the MPLA planned that Machiavellian and bloody operation in Malanje in order to sabotage President Dr. Savimbi's visit, then it failed completely. All it achieved was that the entire presidential team felt revolted in solidarity with the noble people of Malanje who support UNITA's cause.

[Reporter] Dr. Valentim, you have mentioned Malanje. In regard to the incidents there, what were the motives and intentions guiding those who perpetrated those crimes?

[Valentim] UNITA had prepared the inauguration ceremony of its committee in Carreira do Tiro ward on 12 July. At 1345, a Land Rover vehicle passed by (Chauande) Square on its way to the rally grounds and to inaugurate the aforementioned committee. It was then that it was treacherously attacked by forces of the MPLA's 5th Brigade. Captain Avelino Timoteo, of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] forces, and a lady who was a Lima [League of Angolan Women] leader were killed instantly. In accordance with the plan, and as though everyone were acting in synchronization, intensive shooting by the MPLA forces was heard in every ward where people were coming out in large numbers to attend the rally.

[Reporter] There is talk of a number of dead in Malanje. Is it possible to know how many people were killed?

[Valentim] More than four people were killed: the two persons I mentioned earlier and another two civilians. There were many wounded, including women and children.

[Reporter] In a nutshell, what was the MPLA's intention in attacking UNITA in the city of Malanje?

[Valentim] The MPLA is in panic, and it feels ashamed because it cannot find more supporters. Its operation had one clear goal: to violate the Bicesse peace accords in order to prevent UNITA's political work in Malanje, and to intimidate people into not joining UNITA. This is the sort of fascist behavior that is often displayed by decadent totalitarian regimes that have been rejected by history.

[Reporter] What about the committee itself? Was it attacked?

[Valentim] Yes, the building of the committee in Carreira do Tiro ward was attacked at 1900.

[Reporter] Given the revolting behavior of the so-called People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] 5th Brigade, and other MPLA military forces, what prevented a large-scale massacre of people?

[Valentim] It was our forces' bravery, calm, determination, and serenity. They showed the MPLA that the events of 1975 would not be allowed to happen again.

[Reporter] But didn't the MPLA resort to other action to mislead the Angolan and international communities?

[Valentim] At the same time that the MPLA conducted its cowardly massacre in Malanje, Daniel Chipenda shamelessly invented an alleged attempt on his life in Lunda, but that ploy makes no political or moral sense. Moreover, the people know Chipenda's personality and past, and no one believes him. He failed in Moxico Province before; now he has failed in Lunda. He will also fail elsewhere. This sort of game is over. The time for change has come with UNITA led by President Dr. Savimbi, our beloved president, for a better future for all of us, all Angolans, and all patriots.

[Reporter] In view of all these events, what can one learn for the future?

[Valentim] We in UNITA, and the international observers, have learned the bitter lesson that the MPLA has not changed. It continues to be a totalitarian regime trying to prevent the open democratic game. The MPLA is now entering the stage of state terrorism, in which the opposition parties in general, and UNITA in particular, are targets for cowardly attacks carried out under the guise of skirmishes among militants. Meanwhile, the state military forces are committing crimes. In view of that, the organs of our glorious UNITA movement and our country's active political forces must condemn the Malanje incident. The presence of government troops in the cities is a threat to peace and to the evolution of the democratic election process.

[Reporter] Over the last few days, we have noticed that the MPLA and the RPA Government have had their treacherous plans promptly exposed. How has that been possible?

[Valentim] It has to be recognized that Vorgan's existence is a trump card in the Angolan people's hands and that it is important for the life of each and every citizen. It is important that UNITA has media organs in Jamba, as in Luanda, and that UNITA has good means of communication to keep in touch with the world and to report accurately about the real situation in Angola. We did not have those means in 1975. Though we cannot say we have every means of information needed to defend democracy in our country, we can nevertheless say that our means are there for the Angolan people and for the defense of democracy. Goodwill is not enough in our country. It is important to (look after human interests), to ensure that democracy gains ground in Angola.

[Reporter] Has the MPLA-Labor Party organized any rallies in Angolan cities?

[Valentim] Its 10 July rally was a major fiasco. Governor Joao Filipe Martins addressed that rally, which was attended by some 40 to 44 people, most of whom were children and old people.

[Reporter] Do you have anything else you would like to say?

[Valentim] Given the situation in our country, and what we know about the nature of the RPA Government, I would only like to call on all our UNITA militants, and the Angolan people at large, to be vigilant, courageous, and determined to defend the sacred cause of the fatherland, now that we are some 80 days away from elections. Our fates (?depend) on a victory by President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, to ensure a radical change of regime that will bring peace and prosperity to all Angolans. We must support Dr. Savimbi's victory in September.

[Reporter] Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim, thank you very much.

[Valentim] I would like to thank you for your openness, and for granting me this opportunity.

[Reporter] Thank you.

Botswana

Swazi Prime Minister, Mogae Discuss Relations

MB1507144892 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network
in English 1110 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] The visiting prime minister of Swaziland, Mr. Obed Dlamini, says his country has always found Botswana to be a dependable partner upon which the kingdom can place its complete reliance.

Speaking at a dinner hosted in his honor by the vice president and minister of finance and development planning, Mr. Festus Mogae, at Gaborone Sun yesterday, Mr. Dlamini said his kingdom was very proud of the excellent track record of Botswana's socioeconomic partnership with Swaziland. He said he appreciated (?the successful) services that Botswana has rendered through SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] since its inception.

Mr. Dlamini said that, in spite of some difficulties, Swaziland remained convinced that SADCC provides the most effective vehicle with which the nations of southern Africa can successfully pursue their common development objectives. He said Swaziland has, over the years, admired the resolve of the people of Botswana to uphold the principles of freedom and democracy, saying it has provided an inspiration to many nations in Africa. On trade, Mr. Dlamini said he was convinced that

Botswana and Swaziland have great potential for establishing more vibrant trade ties and said there is a need for the two countries to study specific areas in which they can trade.

Earlier, the vice president, Mr. Mogae, said Botswana and Swaziland share a common history, culture, and sociopolitical values. He said Mr. Dlamini's visit to Botswana demonstrates the spirit of friendship, goodwill, and cooperation which has always characterized the relations between the two countries and their people. He said the visit also will afford the two countries a chance to reflect on what the future has in store for them.

Mr. Mogae said the two countries' common political values have brought them together, (and they served) in international organizations such as the Nonaligned Movement, the Commonwealth, the United Nations, and SADCC in pursuit of liberty, security, development, and peace. He further said both countries also suffer from direct and indirect acts of destabilization by South Africa. He expressed concern about the situation in South Africa and called on the government there to ensure maintenance of law and order. He said it is also necessary for various political parties to instill in their rank and file a spirit of mutual tolerance and self-restraint.

On regional issues, Mr. Mogae said southern Africa faces an increasing competition posed by new and stronger economic and trading blocs that are emerging in various parts of the world. He said if the region is not to be marginalized in the cutthroat competition for scarce resources and shrinking markets, it must be able to strengthen itself as an economic grouping. Mr. Mogae appealed to the countries of the region to give SADCC all the necessary support and guidance in this direction.

Further Remarks

*MB1607100892 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network
in English 1610 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[Text] The visiting Swaziland prime minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, says a transitional period in South Africa will seriously affect neighboring countries. Addressing a cordial meeting in Masunga this morning, Mr. Dlamini said he was certain that the new South Africa had come. He said apartheid had brought with it violence which has been the order of the day in South Africa. He said apartheid also brought with it confusion and destruction of property in the southern Africa region.

On relations between Botswana and Swaziland Mr. Dlamini said the two countries share a lot in common, such as being landlocked and (youngest) in nationhood. He commended Botswana for her achievements and added that his visit was to learn how Botswana has made such strides in its development. He said democracy was the vehicle of sustainable development. Mr. Dlamini also delivered a message of good hope from King Mswati III.

Earlier when welcoming the prime minister and his entourage, Chief Christopher Masunga said he felt honored to have Mr. Dlamini in his village. Chief Masunga gave a short history of the village. The prime minister also visited the Domboshaba ruins and was accompanied by traditional leaders.

Malawi

Lawyer Confirms Police Again Holding Chihana

*MB1507181492 London BBC World Service
in English 1705 GMT 15 Jul 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa"]

[Text] For the past 24 hours or so, a lot of people have been wondering what happened to Malawi trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana. He was freed on bail on Saturday [11 July], more than three months after his arrest on April 6th. Yesterday, Mr. Chihana reported to Lilongwe police station as required under his bail condition, but didn't come out again. Since then his whereabouts have been a mystery. On the line to Blantyre, Robin White asked Mr. Chihana's lawyer, Bazuka Mahanga, if he had managed to find out what had happened to his client, and where he was now.

[Begin recording] [Mahango] The latest information is that there is confirmation that Chihana is in the hands of the police, and we were keen to establish that fact.

[White] And who has confirmed this?

[Mahango] The counsel representing the state has confirmed to us, after exhaustive efforts, that Chihana is in the hands of the police.

[White] Whereabouts?

[Mahango] Well, no definite places so far have been identified, but the state counsel suggested that probably he was being interrogated in Blantyre today.

[White] In Blantyre police station?

[Mahango] Well, it could be the police station, possibly yes, or the headquarters, the subregional headquarters.

[White] Interrogated about what?

[Mahango] Well, he wasn't very clear. I do not know what the interrogation would be. I suppose there would be some kind of statements being taken, with the possibility of (adding) other charges.

[White] So, you think he might be charged again with different things?

[Mahango] I do not know. I could not rule the possibility of additional charges or alteration of the charges that were made before.

[White] Now, what have you been trying to do today to get hold of him?

[Mahango] We have been trying to get to work together in liaison with the counsel representing the state, first of all to establish where he is and any explanation as to why he was taken in again.

[White] What happens when you call on the police and ask them questions?

[Mahango] Well, there is no response.

[White] You say do you have Mr. Chihana, and they say what?

[Mahango] Well, no one seems to be in a position to be able to give any definitive answers. They seem not to know.

[White] So, on whose orders has he been rearrested, do you think?

[Mahango] The counsel that was looking into this one seems not to have got any definitive answer. It must have come from the police, because otherwise the counsel would have known if it was from other places.

[White] It sounds as if you and the state counsel are cooperating a bit on this.

[Mahango] Well, we have been trying to do it all along. We have been trying to cooperate and we have been told by the court to liaise with them in order to expedite the processing of this matter.

[White] It might seem rather odd to outsiders that the defense and the prosecution are talking to each other in this way.

[Mahango] Well, the question is that we all would like to be able to see what is the justice of this case, and the attorney general's chambers are very keen to ensure that if any offense has been committed, let it be put to the courts to decide. We are keen, of course, to say that there is no offense and we would like him to be freed instead of conditional bails hanging over him.

[White] Now, some of the opposition parties abroad are expressing concern for Mr. Chihana's well-being. Do you have any grounds for worrying yourself?

[Mahango] Well, I haven't seen him. I can only go by what has been told to me. I would hope that very soon we can have an opportunity to see Chihana so that we can satisfy ourselves that he is safe and what condition he is in. [end recording]

Mozambique

Government, Renamo Sign Aid Corridor Declaration

MB1607112492 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] At the Rome peace talks this morning, the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique

National Resistance [Renamo] signed a declaration establishing a number of principles that will guide emergency humanitarian aid operations throughout Mozambican territory for the benefit of the more than 3 million people currently suffering from the effects of the worst drought to hit this country for the last 50 years.

Great pressure was applied to the two sides, which had been holding fruitless talks on the issue since last week. All the involved parties worked in Santo Egidio until the declaration was finally signed at 0530 this morning. The document contains eight points and several paragraphs. It begins by stating the basic principle that, quote, aid will be extended freely and without discrimination to all affected Mozambican people, unquote.

It further guarantees free movement and respect for the workers serving under and the goods bearing the UN or International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] banners, as long as they are involved in humanitarian operations and are not accompanied by military escorts. From this, one can infer that Renamo wants to prevent possible military penetration by the government into areas under its control.

Under the terms of that document, access will be granted to all affected people. Every means of transportation will be used for a rapid distribution of humanitarian aid. In this spirit, and with the aim of dealing with extreme emergency problems in the country, the two sides agreed to allow and to facilitate with immediate effect the movement of aircraft from every part of the country for the transportation of humanitarian aid and of the personnel believed to be necessary and viable for those operations. Under these same terms, the two sides must agree at a later stage on departure points in neighboring countries for the Mozambican hinterland. Mechanisms must be established that will allow and facilitate the immediate utilization and rehabilitation of access routes necessary for aid to reach people in need.

The government and Renamo also agreed to continue negotiating, quote, the accord on the opening of roads and the removal of all obstacles hindering the distribution of humanitarian aid in the Mozambican hinterland, unquote. All emergency humanitarian aid operations mentioned in the declaration will be coordinated by a UN committee that will include mediation representatives, observers, and the ICRC. In order to ensure that the two sides will cooperate effectively (with) the international community in Mozambique, notably in drawing up plans of action for each stage, Renamo must appoint a representative who will enjoy the same diplomatic status as his colleagues in the Joint Verification Commission for the Beira and Limpopo corridors.

Ivory Coast

Papers on Economic Plan, 18 Feb Incidents

AB1507173092

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of Abidjan French-language press reports on Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara's economic recovery plan and international reactions to the 18 February violent incidents in Abidjan.

In its 6 July issue, LA VOIE carries the following banner headline on page one: "Ivory Coast Back to Square One: IMF Reprimands the Alassane Plan!!!" On the same page, it carries a REUTERS dispatch saying "diplomats in Abidjan have stated" that the Fund has stopped disbursing any money to the Ivory Coast because it did not meet the criteria defined last year for the granting of a \$120 million standby loan. On page two, LA VOIE carries an article by staff reporter Freedom Neruda saying that the IMF decision is a clear "red flag" to the government made up of so-called technocrats. The writer says: "It is time to seriously question the frankness, sincerity, and intellectual rigor of our chief technocrat Alassane Dramane Ouattara." He adds: "Undoubtedly, Alassane has failed. And one wonders how, over so many months, he, who is the expert and the eminent economist expected to solve the economic situation, had the courage to state that all was going well." The article also blamed the government press for remaining silent about the IMF's "reprimand."

The article adds: "Now we have to call the attention of Ivorians to the attitude of the pro-government media. Whether the national radio, the television service, FRATERNITE MATIN, LE DEMOCRATE, or LE PATRIOTE, they all have adopted a low profile on this issue. This silence is quite strange when we know how quick they are to defend the government of Alassane Dramane Ouattara." The article says that Alassane Ouattara's call for a "large consensus" is a desperate and discordant call. It asks: "How can there be any consensus when every day, hundreds of workers from the private sector and the parastatal or government-owned companies are being thrown out of work to go swell the numbers of other thousands of workers who have been experiencing hardship for several years now? Can there ever be a consensus when all forms of expression of democracy are repressed, like the numerous libel cases against the press, the adoption of wicked laws that encroach on people's freedom, or the hijacking of the state media, while at the same time private initiatives for developing other means of mass communication are prevented?"

In the same issue on page three, LA VOIE carries an article written by staff journalist Nick Zedenn entitled "Alassane Has Failed." The writer says that "Alassane did not expect he would perform so poorly when he assumed the mission of reviving the Ivorian economy. Sure of his expertise, he never thought he would ever fail in this task." The paper recalls that the prime minister had referred to strikes by workers as crazy and wild,

pronouncements which LA VOIE says it had denounced at that time. "But, instead of proving us wrong then, the government media went all out to support him." LA VOIE says the government press overestimated the expertise of the prime minister. The government press also waged a media campaign around Ouattara's recent visit to Washington when it is known that he had gone there for family matters.

Another LA VOIE article on page three, written by staff journalist Maurice Lohourignon, criticizes the various scandals that have rocked the government and have made it impossible to carry out the economic plan conclusively; that is, "the privatization scandal which was denounced by the opposition press, Ouattara's purchase of a residence for 300 million CFA francs, his ties to a customs fraud, as well as all obstacles put in the way of democracy." On page four, LA VOIE also carries an article written by staff journalist Aristide Silue which recalls that newly recruited high school teachers have not received their salaries for nine months now.

FRATERNITE MATIN responded in its 8 July issue about the IMF decision on its front page under the headline: "Disagreement, Yes, But Reprimand, No!" In the corresponding article carried on page six, staff journalist Hien Solo explains the process to be undergone before the IMF disburses funds and specifies it is this process that will be resumed next September in Washington. Solo agrees that the misunderstanding between the two parties is over salary cuts. The IMF says the government must lay off civil servants and cut salaries, measures which the government has always rejected.

The 8 July issue of LA VOIE carries an article on page three by Oroua Marie Chantal. The writer says the economic recovery plan has broken down and reports that several local companies were closing down while the prime minister was busy buying a house worth 300 million CFA francs. The article says Mr. Alassane Ouattara took himself for a "messiah."

In addition to coverage of economic issues, Ivorian papers have been addressing the continuing repercussions of the violent events in Abidjan on 18 February which resulted in the arrests of opposition figures. LA VOIE in its 7 July issue carries a banner headline on page one: "18 February Incidents, Americans React. Edward Kennedy, Paul Simon, and 11 Other Senators Condemn the Ivorian Government." On page two, the paper carries two letters in English signed by some U.S. senators and 12 other members of Congress. In the letters, translated by staff journalist Jean-Pierre Vandale, the members of Congress protested a crackdown on opposition activists and called for further congressional action against the Ivory Coast. The congressmen said development assistance should be "on the condition of the release of detained political leaders arrested at the 18 February demonstration, and the prosecution of the officers responsible for the attack on students at the University of Yopougon in May 1991" and suggested "all military assistance should be cut."

Two other papers have also commented on how the government should resolve the political situation. LA NOUVELLE PRESSE, a new independent weekly, carried an editorial in its fifth issue dated 2 July on page 5 by journalist Jerome Carlos. Carlos wrote that the government is likely to follow the example of Senegal in solving its political crisis by setting up a national unity government. "The Senegalese scenario has succeeded in defusing the explosive social situation. It has allowed for deep debates which involve all parties and during which significant achievements have been made such as the drafting of the electoral code which Senegalese boast is one of the most liberal in the world, the revision of the voters registers under the supervision of all parties, and the setting up of rules for equal access of parties to the state media."

NOTRE TEMPS, in its 1 July issue on page 12, reports on the news conference given on 23 June 1992 by Abo Boa, president of the Convention for the Triumph of Democracy, a minor Ivorian opposition group. The paper says Mr. Boa "proposed a national unity government in Ivory Coast, such as exists in Senegal, Burkina, and Mali."

Mali

Mauritanian Envoy Brings Message on Regional Group

AB1507164592 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Télévision
du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Excerpt] President Alpha Omar Konare granted an audience this morning to Mohamed Lemine Ould Ahmed, the Mauritanian minister for water supply and energy, who brought him a message from his counterpart, Maouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, on the current situation of the Senegal River Development Organization [OMVS]. Mr. Ahmed informed the head of state that President Taya has appointed Abdallah Ould Sidi as the OMVS high commissioner. He also stressed the need to move quickly to overcome the administrative problems plaguing the organization so that it can address the urgent matters before it.

President Omar Konare stated that he accepted the appointment made by his Mauritanian counterpart. He suggested, however, that the swearing in of Ould Sidi be held up until the next summit when the OMVS members will appoint a new secretary general, thus creating conditions conducive to a new takeoff. The head of state also hoped this would happen after adequate preparations have been made and objectives clearly defined. [passage omitted]

Niger

Cheiffou on 'Taiwan Episode,' 'Sick' Economy

AB1607114592 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network
in French 1200 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Address by Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou in Niamey on 15 July—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Fellow Nigerois, dear countrymen, after the extremely agitated political week we have just been through, it is my bounden duty to address the entire nation to try to draw some lessons and to tell you how we envisage our country's immediate future. Let me stress right away that it is not a question of trying to exonerate myself or to accuse either a transition personality or one of our transition institutions in regard to this affair. I am strongly convinced that all Nigerois are to blame in this affair, and this blame actually goes beyond what is called the Taiwan affair, which should henceforth be considered an episode in our country's diplomatic life.

As you know, for a year our country's general situation has continued to deteriorate. We helplessly witnessed, even though we did not abet it, an accelerated deterioration of our economy and public finances. The sovereign national conference, which we organized with widespread enthusiasm, had already helped us eight months ago to analyze in detail and at length all the evils from which our country was suffering. [passage omitted]

At the end of our deliberations, and after noting the seriousness of the disaster, we all agreed, collectively and massively, that only domestic efforts, especially sacrifices as well as plain hard work, could help us redress such a situation. In my 23 March address to the nation, I recalled that if this was not done, our country would be confronted with serious difficulties. Yet, what do we note now? Many of our compatriots, if not the majority, have not yet realized the seriousness of our country's present economic and financial predicament. Also, they are not yet aware of the indispensable sacrifices this situation demands from all of us.

Some of those who stated at the national conference that a compulsory social truce was the prime condition for the success of our transition, are today the quickest to launch industrial actions, sometimes for empty reasons. Some of those who talked yesterday, and with great vigor, about the need for financial sacrifices to improve state resources are, today, the last to accept even the idea of creating a solidarity ("fund"). Some of those who at the national conference demanded the modernization and reorganization of the civil service, are those who today do not hesitate to abandon their duties to engage in activities that are in no way linked with their professional obligations.

The cohesion which should exist among the transition bodies and which should have been the consolidating factor for the consensus reached at the national conference has also failed to be exemplary. Instead of keeping to their respective areas of activities, some bodies tried to interfere in the activities of others.

Such behavior resulted in inciting our traditional partners and financiers to adopt a wait-and-see attitude. This is particularly justifiable since the national conference made it completely impossible for us to sign a structural

adjustment program with international financial institutions whereas such a program would have secured us resources indispensable for our socioeconomic recovery efforts.

The final consequence of this is that we are today a sick country economically and socially. Ours is a state struggling against poverty with a heavy budget deficit, overwhelming domestic and foreign debts, and a strangled economy. It is also a state with an administration riddled with laxity, a state with underequipped security and defense forces which, more to the point, is faced with an armed rebellion.

Fellow Nigerois, I do not have a right to tell you (?lies). Our treasury situation is so bad that it would take us several years to succeed in redressing it completely. As we have already had the opportunity to tell you many times, our actual treasury deficit stands today at around 100 billion CFA francs, while the ceiling of annual revenue cannot be projected to exceed 55 billion CFA francs. And yet projected expenses stand at 110 billion CFA francs. Only massive foreign aid can correct this deficit. [passage omitted]

Let me inform you that our salary package takes up 90 percent of tax and customs revenue. It becomes 100 percent if scholarships and students' grants are taken into account. The contribution to the investment budget, which amounts to 5 billion CFA francs, will no doubt be paid. As you can notice, for nearly two years, we have not made any investments, and we are therefore not creating wealth. Our country is becoming increasingly poorer. [passage omitted]

It is therefore in the face of our social partners' rejection of sacrifice and our traditional financiers' wait-and-see attitude, and out of fear that such a climate might lead us to a chaos in all sectors that the Taiwan episode occurred. Indeed, we believe we saw in the national conference's guidelines on the diplomatic (?strategy) to be adopted by the transition government an authorization to approach new partners in the supreme interest of our country. We therefore began talks with Taiwan, which, as we know, has already been recognized by several states, including some African countries. Moreover, Taiwan was about to grant our country immediate and concrete assistance capable of solving our present problems. Actually, similar cooperation has already been positively experienced by countries which recognized Taiwan before us.

The positive repercussions of this cooperation are now known to all. I just want to say that I was sure they would be beneficial to our people as a whole. Thus, it is unquestionable that we were only guided by national interest in this initiative, trying to save our nation from falling into the abyss toward which it has been irremediably heading over the past few years.

Fellow Nigerois, I have made it a point to tell you about this issue directly in order to explain to the whole nation, to which I am accountable, the rationale behind my

motivation in this matter. Eight months ago, at the end of our sovereign national conference which honored me by entrusting me with the duties you all know about, I took the solemn oath to serve the nation in absolute loyalty. I do not feel that I have betrayed that oath. On the contrary, I can assure you that what I have experienced for the past eight months has not shaken my deep and patriotic convictions.

This is to reassure those who still doubt whether in this matter, as in all others, I was driven by the highest interest of our people. If ever there is anything I have learned from my eight months in power, it is this: Only the people are sovereign. I am not the suicidal pilot some people tend to describe. My only ambition for Niger, my country, is to make the transition a success, to successfully carry out the democratic process; that is to say, to leave to the future authorities who will take office in a few months a reorganized administration, a manageable state, and a unified country. That is my only ambition. It is my duty to carry out a thankless and, at times, unpopular task but one that is necessary for my country's recovery. That is why I had sincerely hoped to count on the support of all Nigerois in this affair.

As far as we are concerned, I want you to know that the government, in accordance with its 9 July announcement at the end of the Cabinet meeting, is resolutely committed to finding the necessary resources locally and externally for the achievement of our common development objectives.

On the domestic front, we are, more than ever, determined, as far as the collection of tax arrears and ill-gotten gains are concerned, to take all legal measures to recover most of these resources. Rigorous measures have been laid out to that effect. We are also aware that internal efforts, however significant they may be, will not be enough to meet our immediate financial needs. Let us understand one another well: These measures are part of the implementation of our economic and financial recovery program, which will be maintained and pursued.

However, our eight-month experience in power has definitively convinced us of the pressing need to prepare a vigorous adjustment program in cooperation with the Bretton Woods institutions, to take over our economic and financial recovery program by the end of the transition. Such a move, which has become mandatory, is not contrary to the requirements of the national conference resolutions. We are therefore going to maintain contact and dialogue with the Bretton Woods institutions in view of preparing such a program. But I have to tell you that even if we are able to do so, the financial repercussions will only be effective in several months, whereas our cash needs are immediate.

This to tell you that we have to find immediately the means of substantially replenishing our coffers whose present state cannot help us in paying salaries, scholarships, and other state bills. In spite of all the efforts made by the government on several fronts, this strategy, which

through the economic and financial recovery program will serve as a bridge to the structural adjustment program, can only work if Nigerois agree to make the necessary sacrifices and observe the social truce, the prerequisite to the restoration of an atmosphere of peace and serenity necessary for the success of any economic and social program.

In the meantime, the transitional bodies which, I must say, have the same legitimacy, must be determined to carry out the transition successfully and to admit that their tasks are complementary and not competitive. In this regard, the Supreme Court, the transitional arbitration body, made all the necessary clarifications from the beginning of the transition. As far as I am concerned, I will see to it that there is no more interference, henceforth, from the executive branch. I also make the commitment to ensure that consultations between the government and all other bodies are [word indistinct], and I hope that the other bodies will show the same predispositions. [passage omitted]

Thus, each one of us should serve as a model by scrupulously abiding by the rules and regulations of the Republic, especially the cadres and employees of the departments of territorial administration, justice, police, and so on, who must henceforth fully assume their responsibilities by carrying out their duties with rigor and discernment.

Democracy is, above all, the sound confrontation of ideas. It is about convincing by the strength of arguments and appropriate programs and not about engaging in violent clashes aimed at neutralizing or eliminating persons whose political or religious views may differ. The Niger we want to build should be a democratic and secular country. It is therefore not a nation where intolerance and authoritarianism will be allowed. For this reason, we cannot understand or bear any longer acts of sequestration or other physical attacks on certain officials or even peaceful citizens. These acts contrast with the republican and democratic values we want to establish in this country.

As far as I am concerned, let me tell you that I will work with determination and in full loyalty so that the elections slated for the end of the year take place in openness and fairness that is to say without any clash and in renewed confidence. [passage omitted]

Visiting PRC Official Notes New Loan Planned

AB1507215092 Paris AFP in French 1810 GMT
15 Jul 92

[Text] Niamey, 15 Jul (AFP)—The Chinese assistant minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Li Zhaoxing, who has been visiting Niger since 11 July, said today that he had received assurances from Niger's transition authorities that "it will no longer recognize Taiwan." At a press conference reported by the NIGER PRESS AGENCY (ANP), he added that China was getting ready to grant Niger "a new interest-free loan, including ready cash."

He did not, however, state the amount. He simply pointed out that a delegation of Nigerois will soon go to Beijing to discuss this new "era of cooperation."

On 19 June, Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou's government announced its decision to restore diplomatic relations with Taiwan and disclosed that Taiwan had decided to grant Niger financial assistance of \$50 million (12.5 billion CFA francs), a considerable amount in a country on the brink of economic bankruptcy. A week later, under pressure from the High Council of the Republic (HCR, the provisional legislative assembly) and a majority of political parties, the prime minister had to suspend his decision.

Just before Mr. Li's press conference, Mr. Cheiffou had, in a message to the nation, implicitly said that he was rescinding his decision to renew ties with Taiwan by saying that this affair was now only "an episode in the diplomatic life" of the country.

Received by President

AB1607075592 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network
in French 1900 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] This morning the president of the Republic, General Ali Saibou, received in audience Mr. Li Zhaoxing, Chinese assistant minister of foreign affairs. The audience took place in the presence of the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Hamidou Hassane Diallo.

Students Hold Education Minister, Aide in Protest

AB1507174092 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network
in French 1200 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Mr. Boube Gado, minister of national education and research, and his permanent secretary, who were held hostage at their ministry by students, were released late in the night. According to a student spokesman, quoted by the NIGER PRESS AGENCY, ANP, they were released after the students' demands were met. Their demands include the payment of four-month arrears in stipends and payment of allowances for registration at Nigerian universities.

[Paris AFP in English in a Niamey-dated item at 1344 GMT on 15 July adds in a report citing ANP: "The minister, Boube Gado, and his general secretary, Chaibou Dan-Inna, were held hostage in the ministry building by 100 students demanding the payment of four-month arrears in grants and fees to study in neighbouring Nigeria." AFP adds: "During his hours as a hostage, Dan-Inna told ANP by telephone that he had been well-treated and that he thought police intervention was 'unnecessary.' The Education Ministry is in the Niamey city centre, a few hundred metres (yards) from the prime minister's office. Last Friday [10 July], students in N'konni, 400 kilometres (250 miles) east of the capital, occupied the prefecture and the town hall with the same complaints. Niger students also invaded their embassy in Lagos and the consulate in the northern

Nigerian town of Kano. Others have been occupying Niger's embassy in Moscow for more than a month, according to ANP."]

CIS Students Continue 'Siege'

AB1607081092 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 13 Jul 92

[Text] Niger students and trainees in the former Soviet Union continue their siege of our diplomatic representation which has been under way since 17 June. The personnel taken hostage by the students and trainees have been able to escape. This is what one of these students had to say:

[Begin recording] [passage indistinct] Thus, on 2 July, we decided to go on to the second phase of our action. We therefore besieged the embassy nonviolently. The embassy personnel, who had been kept in the office of the ambassador, took advantage of the situation to escape. This means that now there is only one Niger diplomatic representative to the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Following the escape of the personnel to an unknown destination, we are abandoned to our own fate. It is for this reason that we are asking for assistance from all the democratic forces in Niger for Niger students and trainees in the former Soviet Union. [end recording]

Sierra Leone

Further on 'Major Structural Changes' in Government

AB1507151592 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 0700 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] The chairman of Council and head of state, Captain Valentine Strasser, yesterday announced major structural changes in his government at a State House press briefing in Freetown. According to the changes, the National Provisional Ruling Council will now become the Supreme Council of State while a Council of Secretaries, headed by a chief secretary of state, replaces the cabinet of ministers, and state secretary responsible for a department, formerly known as ministry.

Capt. Strasser explained that the Council of Secretaries will be in charge of the day-to-day running of the government and shall be directly responsible and answerable to the Supreme Council of State. He said to ensure efficiency, three members of the Supreme Council of State have been assigned with the responsibility of properly monitoring and following up action on decisions of government by playing a supervisory role over a number of government departments. The three members, who will be known as principal liaison officers, are Lieutenant C.E. Mbayo, responsible for transport, communications and tourism, mineral resources, and (?justice); Lieutenant J.M. Bio, will be (?the liaison) officer for the Departments of Information, Broadcasting and Culture, Finance, Development and

Economic Planning as well as Foreign Affairs; while Lieutenant S.K. Kambo, will be in charge of the Departments of Labor, Energy and Power, Trade, Industry and State Enterprises, together with lands, housing and the environment.

Similarly, the chairman and deputy chairman of the Supreme Council will no longer attend meetings of the Council of Secretaries, which was the former cabinet, and will no longer be directly involved in the day-to-day running of the government. The proceedings of the Council of Secretaries, which will now be presided over by the chief secretary of state, will be reported to the Supreme Council of State.

President Strasser maintained that the rationale behind the changes was to ensure a (?coordination) of tasks between the Supreme Council of State and the Council of Secretaries of State, which he said, will serve the best interest of the state at this early stage of the revolution. The head of state affirmed that the changes have by no means provided a perfect structure, but assured his audience that the situation will be placed under constant review and that changes will be made as and when necessary.

He implored all to accept the current changes for the good of the country and for a better life for ourselves and for our children. Capt. Strasser also announced the appointment of Mr. John Benjamin as the chief secretary of state and said he looked forward to a good working relationship. He called on the secretary to the chairman and head of the civil service, Mr. S.A.T. Gbawo, to work out the corresponding administrative changes along with his colleagues and looked forward to a positive response from the civil service.

Earlier, Capt. Strasser reiterated the immediate goals of his government, including the speedy conclusion of the rebel war, the sustenance of the economic recovery program, and preparation for the return to civilian rule.

In his vote of thanks, PROGRESS editor Fode Kande commended Capt. Strasser for measures taken so far and pledged the support of the press as long as the Supreme Council continues to (?move) in the right direction.

'Spectacular Advances' in Anti-Rebel Operations

AB1607094592 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Captain Valentine Strasser, Sierra Leone's military leader, is now vigorously pursuing a military solution to the civil war in the south and east of the country. His offer of amnesty to the rebels led by Foday Sankoh has been turned down, and the Army is now involved in a big offensive in the region, apparently with some spectacular advances. Our correspondent, Victor Toba has been talking to the commander in charge of the campaign and he telexed this report from Freetown:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The rainy season offensive is now in full swing, as Tiger, Cobra, and Scorpion Battalions close in on the rebels. The government says that after a number of swift skirmishes, elements of the Cobra Battalion have succeeded in advancing as far as Daru, a town some 15 to 20 miles from the Mano River Union Bridge.

According to the director of training and operations of the Sierra Leone military forces, Colonel Joe Turay, similar advances are being made by the Tiger Battalion, which is reported to be advancing rapidly toward Manoa with the main objective of establishing a bridgehead by the Moa River, in the eastern sector. Col. Turay said that

Tiger units are rapidly advancing into Mamboma, in the Kailahun District. Simultaneously, elements of the Scorpion Battalions in the Pujehun District in the south have made big push toward Sulima, and reports received indicate that the operations have been successful.

Asked of casualties on both sides, the director of operations said that casualty figures for the Sierra Leone Army had been extremely light. Exact figures of rebels killed were not known. Asked if the rain did not pose a problem to troop movement and timing, Col. Turay said that the men at the front are well trained to fight under such conditions. In fact, he said this was the best time for routing the enemy. [end recording]

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17 July 1992

